

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-25 ADP-00 IO-13 OMB-01 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-07 H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03

RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12 SR-02 ORM-03 AID-20 RSR-01

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FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8937

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

USINT CAIRO

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

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USINT ALGIERS

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E. O. 11652: N/ A

TAGS: PFOR, IS, XF

SUBJECT: DAYAN SPEECH ON PALESTINIAN PROBLEM

SUMMARY. IN JUNE 27 SPEECH DELIVERED AT HIAFA, DEFENSE MINISTER DAYAN PRESENTED THOUGHTFUL EXPOSITION OF HIS VIEWS ON PALESTINIAN PROBLEM. DAYAN MADE STRICT DISTINCTION BETWEEN REFUGEE SITUATION CREATED AS RESULT OF 1948 WAR AND THAT CREATED BY 1967. ON FORMER, DAYAN SHOWED NO FLEXIBILITY STATING CATEGORICALLY THAT ISRAEL WOULD NOT ACCEPT REPATRIATION OF 1948 UNCLASSIFIED

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PALESTINIAN REFUGEES. ON QUESTION OF 1967 REFUGEES DAYAN SHOWED CONSIDERABLE FLEXIBILITY, STATING THAT RETURN OF THESE REFUGEES " WOULD NOT SHATTER THE NATIONAL, POLITICAL, AND SECURITY STRUCTURE OF THIS REGION." END SUMMARY.

1. FOLLOWING IS DRAWN FROM GOVERNMENT PRESS OFFICE TEXT OF DAYAN' S SPEECH.

2. DAYAN BEGAN ADDRESS BY STATING THAT WHEN ISRAEL SPEAKS ABOUT A PEACE SETTLEMENT, ALMOST ALL ISRAELIS USE TERM " SETTLEMENT WITH THE ARABS". DAYAN TERMED THIS PHRASE IMPRECISE AND A GENERALIZATION. TO ILLUSTRATE THIS POINT DAYAN SAID, " WHEN WE SAY THAT ISRAEL IS READY TO WITHDRAW FROM MOST OF THE TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN 1967, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A PEACE AGREEMENT, WE MUST KNOW THAT OUR WITHDRAWAL FROM THE MAJOR PART OF SINAI WILL NOT SETTLE OUR BORDER WITH SYRIA. FOR THE SYRIANS, THE ' OCCUPIED LAND' IS THE GOLAN HEIGHTS, AND WITHDRAWAL FROM THE MAJOR PART OF SINAI IS NOT A SUBSTITUTE FOR IT. IT IS ALSO POSSIBLE THAT THE EGYPTIANS WILL NOT MAKE PEACE WITH US EVEN IF WE WITHDRAW FROM ALL SINAI BUT NOT FROM THE GOLAN HEIGHTS, BUT SYRIA WILL CERTAINLY NOT CONSIDER THE WITHDRAWAL FROM SINAI AS A COMPENSATION FOR THE GOLAN."

3. DAYAN THEN TURNED FROM THIS QUESTION OF IMPRECISION IN TERMINOLOGY TO THEME OF HIS ADDRESS, I. E. PALESTINIAN PROBLEM. DAYAN SAID, " WHEN WE SPEAK ABOUT A SETTLEMENT WITH WEST BANK LEADERS AS REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM, WE MIX UP TWO GROUPS OF PEOPLE AND TWO DIFFERENT PROBLEMS-- THE RESIDENTS OF JUDEA AND SAMARIA (AND THE GAZA STRIP) WHO HAVE BEEN UNDER OUR CONTROL SINCE 1967 AND THE PALESTINIANS WHO LEFT ISRAEL IN 1948, AND ARE IN REFUGEE CAMPS IN LEBANON, SYRIA, JORDAN, IRAQ, JUDEA AND SAMARIA, AND GAZA." PALESTINIAN PROBLEM, DAYAN SAID, IS NOT LIMITED TO 1967 ARAB-ISRAEL WAR AND " LEGITIMATE RIGHTS AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE PALESTINIANS" ARE NOT PART OF PROBLEM OF SECURE AND RECOGNIZED BORDERS OF UNSC 242 BUT ARE SUBJECTS IN THEMSELVES.

4. DAYAN THEN WENT ON TO SEPARATE FOR PURPOSES OF ANALYSIS PALESTINIAN PROBLEM INTO ITS COMPONENTS: POLITICAL STATUS, PEOPLE AND TERRITORY: " THE PALESTINIAN SUBJECT CONSISTS OF POLITICAL STATUS, PEOPLE AND TERRITORY. THE QUESTION OF THE UNCLASSIFIED

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POLITICAL STATUS IS WHETHER THERE WAS, THERE IS OR THERE SHOULD BE A PALESTINIAN STATE. THE QUESTION OF THE PEOPLE IS THAT OF THE REHABILITATION OF THE REFUGEES OF TWO WARS-- THE 1948 WAR AND THE SIX- DAY WAR, AND THE QUESTION OF THE TERRITORY IS WHETHER THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS AND ASPIRATIONS OF THESE REFUGEES ARE FOCUSED ON THE RETURN TO AREAS AND PLACES THEY HAVE ABANDONED.

5. ORIGIN OF PALESTINIAN PROBLEM LAY IN ESTABLISHMENT OF JEWISH STATE OF ISRAEL AND ARAB OPPOSITION TO IT DAYAN SAID. ARAB OPPOSITION TO ISRAEL ATTAINED ITS PHYSICAL CLIMAX IN WARS OF 1948 AND 1967 AND AS A RESULT OF THESE WARS, A " PROCESS OF POLARIZATION" TOOK PLACE FOR PALESTINIAN PROBLEM. HOWEVER,

HE CONTINUED, THERE WAS AN ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SITUATION CREATED BY 1948 WAR AND THAT WHICH CAME ABOUT AS RESULT OF 1967.

6. 1948 WAR OF INDEPENDENCE, DAYAN SAID, BROUGHT ABOUT AN UNPLANNED AND UNINTENDED TRANSFER OF POPULATION BETWEEN JEWS AND ARABS WHICH WAS ALMOST TOTAL IN EXTENT. SOME 700,000 OUT OF 860,000 PALESTINIANS (81 PERCENT OF POPULATION ACCORDING TO DAYAN) FLED FROM ISRAEL AND SIMILAR NUMBER OF JEWS FROM ARAB COUNTRIES IMMIGRATED TO ISRAEL. PRIOR TO INDEPENDENCE, JEWS OWNED TWO MILLION DUNAMS OF LAND WHILE PALESTINIANS OWNED FOUR MILLION AND THIS ARAB LAND PASSED ON TO OWNER-SHIP BY GOI. JEWS WHO LEFT ARAB COUNTRIES DID NOT LEAVE AGRICULTURAL LAND BUT PROPERTIES AND BUSINESSES, MAJOR PART OF WHICH WERE SEIZED BY ARAB GOVERNMENTS.

7. TOTAL REVOLUTION TOOK PLACE NOT ONLY IN LAND AND POPULATION, DAYAN SAID, BUT ALSO IN POLITICAL STATUS. " THE BRITISH MANDATE WAS ABOLISHED AND THE PALESTINIAN CITIZENSHIP LOST ALL ITS SIGNIFICANCE. THE STATE OF ISRAEL WAS ESTABLISHED TO THE WEST OF THE GREEN LINE WITH SOME 650,000 PEOPLE , WHEREAS TO THE EAST OF SAID LINE, ON THE INITIATIVE OF THE PALESTINIAN INHABITANTS WHICH COUNTED THEN SOME HALF A MILLION PERSONS, THE PALESTINIAN CITIZENSHIP WAS CHANGED INTO THE JORDANIAN ONE. AMMAN IN JORDAN AND NOT JERUSALEM, WAS DECLARED THE CAPITAL OF THE WESTERN BANK. IF THE PALESTINIANS HAD WANTED TO KEEP A PALESTINIAN POLITICAL ENTITY, THAT WAS THE TIME TO DO IT, BUT AFTER THE JEWS ESTABLISHED ISRAEL IN THEIR PART OF PALESTINE, THE ARABS PREFERRED TO JOIN THE JORDANIAN HASEMITE KINGDOM
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AND GIVE UP THE POLITICAL PALESTINIAN DISTINCTIVE STATUS, THUS PUTTING AN END TO POLITICAL PALESTINE. THAT WAS PALESTINE WHICH EXISTS NO MORE. A PART OF IT BECAME ISRAEL AND THE OTHER ONE MERGED WITH THE JORDANIAN KINGDOM."

8. DAYAN THEN SAID THAT ALTHOUGH TRANSFER IN POPULATIONS IN 1948 WAS ALMOST TOTAL, IT WAS COMPLETED; THAT IS, 700,000 REFUGEES WHO FLED ISRAEL REMAINED IN REFUGEE CAMPS WHEREAS JEWS FROM ARAB COUNTRIES WERE ABOSORBED BY ISRAEL. SINCE PALESTINIAN REFUGEES WERE NOT INTEGRATED INTO ARAB COUNTRIES WHERE THEY WERE LOCATED, EVEN THOUGH JORDAN AND IRAQ GRANTED THEM CITIZENSHIP, THE CONTINUED TO MAINTAIN THEIR DISTINCTIVENESS AND WISHED TO RETURN TO THEIR PLACE OF ORIGIN, NAMELY ISRAEL. POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS OF REFUGEE LEADERS IS TO TURN HISTORICAL CLOCK BACK AND SET UP PALESTINIAN STATE IN PLACE OF ISRAEL. " THE LEADERS OF THE TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS CLAIM ON BEHALF OF THE PALESTINIAN REFUGEES, THAT THEY WANT A PALESTINIAN STATE NOT NEAR, BUT INSTEAD OF THE ' ZIONIST ENTITY'. THEIR CLAIM TO RETURN TO ISRAEL HAS BEEN TURNED DOWN BY THE

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R 291346 Z JUN 73

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GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL DURING 25 YEARS AND THE TERRORIST WAR DOES NOT ADD ANY PERSUASION TO THEIR DESIRE. SOONER OR LATER, THE ARABS WILL HAVE TO PUT UP WITH THE TRANSFER AND ABSORB THE 1948 REFUGEES IN THEIR COUNTRIES. ISRAEL WILL NOT ACCEPT THEM, NEITHER WILLINGLY NOR UNDER CONSTRAINT."

9. DAYAN CONTENDED THAT SITUATION CREATED BY SIX- DAY WAR, HOWEVER, WAS ENTIRELY DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF 1948. REGARDING POPULATION, 150,000 WEST BANKERS AND 100,000 1948 REFUGEES WHO FLED FROM WEST BANK TO EAST BANK JORDAN DID NOT BECOME UNCLASSIFIED

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REFUGEES AS THOSE OF 1948. " THEY DID NOT LOSE THEIR JORDANIAN CITIZENSHIP, NOR DID THEY GO TO ANY FOREIGN COUNTRY. THEY ARE ENTITLED-- AND IN FACT THEY DO THAT-- TO GET INVOLVED IN THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE OF JORDAN."

10. SAME DISTINCTION APPLIES TO LAND, DAYAN SAID. ONLY VERY

SMALL AREA, SOME 20,000 DUNAMS (EXCLUDING LATRUN SALIENT AND JERUSALEM), HAS BEEN SET ASIDE FOR JEWISH SETTLEMENT ON WEST BANK. ALSO, GOI HAD DONE MUCH TO RESTORE AND RE-HABILITATE MANY OF WEST BANK TOWNS AND VILLAGES WHICH WERE DAMAGED IN 1967 WAR. MOREOVER, DAYAN SAID, CLAIM OF LAND-OWNERS WHO FLED TO JORDAN IN 1967 FOR RETURN TO THEIR LANDS DOES NOT HAVE SAME NEGATIVE POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE AS HAVE CLAIMS OF 1948 REFUGEES TO RETURN TO ISRAEL. " IF 150,000 PEOPLE RETURN TO THE WESTERN BANK, THIS WILL NOT SHATTER THE NATIONAL, POLITICAL AND SECURITY STRUCTURE OF THIS REGION, AND THIS CANNOT BE SAID ABOUT THE CLAIMS OF THE MILLION OF 1948 ARAB REFUGEES FOR THEIR RETURN TO ISRAEL."

11. DAYAN THEN DEALT WITH DISTINCTION BETWEEN SITUATION CREATED BY 1948 AND 1967 ON QUESTION OF POLITICAL STATUS. " THE JORDANIAN CITIZENSHIP OF THE WESTERN BANK INHABITANTS EXISTS AND IS RECOGNIZED AND NOT ONE OF THEIR PROMINENT LEADERS DOES CLAIM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PALESTINIAN STATE.... THE PROCESS OF ' PALESTINIZATION' OF JORDAN HAS ALSO PLAYED ITS PART DURING THE 25 YEARS THAT HAVE ELAPSED SINCE 1948. THE JORDANIAN POPULATION WHICH COUNTED IN 1948 SOME 375,000 PEOPLE REACHED IN 1968 THE NUMBER OF 1,300,000, THE PALESTINIANS REPRESENTING MORE THAN HALF OF IT. IN AMMAN, 60 PERCENT OF THE INHABITANTS (87 PERCENT OF THE MERCHANTS AND 80 PERCENT OF THE PROPERTY) ARE PALESTINIANS. IN THE ADMINISTRATION, THE LIBERAL PROFESSIONS AND IN OTHER CIRCLES OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA, THE PALESTINIANS ARE A MAJORITY. CITING ANOTHER DISTINCTION BETWEEN 1948 AND 1967 DAYAN: " THE CLAIM WHICH IS HEARD FROM THE WESTERN BANK INHABITANTS FOR THE FULFILLMENT OF THEIR 'LEGITIMATE RIGHTS AND ASPIRATIONS" IS INTENDED FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT THERE BUT NOT FOR THE CHANGE OF ISRAEL INTO A PALESTINIAN STATE NOR FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE, DIFFERENT FROM THE KINGDOM OF JORDAN."

12. DAYAN CONCLUDED THEREFORE THAT ISRAEL MUST MAKE A CLEAR UNCLASSIFIED

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DISTINCTION BETWEEN CLAIMS OF 1948 REFUGEES, WHO DEMAND REPATRIATION TO ISRAEL, AND DESIRES OF WEST BANK PALESTINIANS WHO WANT AN END TO ISRAELI ADMINISTRATION.
ZURHELLEN

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 10 MAY 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 29 JUN 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973TELAV05159
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: TEL AVIV
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730635/abqcekop.tel
Line Count: 262
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: kellerpr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 07 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <07-Aug-2001 by maustmc>; APPROVED <20-Aug-2001 by kellerpr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> jms 980305
Subject: DAYAN SPEECH ON PALESTINIAN PROBLEM
TAGS: PFOR, IS, XF
To: STATE INFO AMMAN
BEIRUT
CAIRO
JERUSALEM
JIDDA
KUWAIT
TRIPOLI

TUNIS
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USUN
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Type: TE

Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005